224 Before
535 going on an elephant hunt, for example, he performed the "boasting dance", "fukkara", largely with his shoulders and upper arms, predicting his feats; and his retainers honored him by declaring their confidence in his prowess, jumping up and down in the "hota" dance, chanting repeatedly:

[539] "Elephant-killer, (to) your home-
elephant-killer, take him home".
(Hunter:) Elephant-killer (I am), to home (I'll take him)."
(Retainers:)" When it (the elephant) will be moving,
he will kill it!"

224 The elephant-killer, considered braver than the lion-
554 killer, was called "addo" and given a special decoration to wear on forehead and upper arm by the king or feudal lord. A warrior who had killed a human enemy was called "geday" (lit. killer) and held prestige equal to the elephant-killer. Now that rifles are used in place of spears, such heroes have become more common and decorations among the Amhara have fallen into disuse.

224 Besides the big-game, edible jungle animals mentioned
825 before under "fauna", there are numerous wild game, mainly gazelles and partridges, hunted near human habitations to increase the food supply and for occasional sport:

Ethiopian duiker - "midaqwa", very common near habitations on the woyna dega, an antelope the size of a small goat, often approaching hamlets at dusk. It is considered the "cattle" of the zar spirits, and sacrifice to them is thus called "midaqwa".

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Bushbuck - "dekula", similar but medium-sized ante-

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It is noteworthy that the military ranking of the commoner-soldiery, which made up the rank and file of the fighters on foot, was not nearly so formal. The fortunes of war, if they did not leave him dead or maimed, could move him upward to lower nobility. Failing to achieve that, veterans could still hope for a modest fief of "gult" land, enabling him to play the "telleq saw" (great man) role over some hapless "gabbar" peasants. Meanwhile, pseudo-"telleq säw" behaved much like the proverbial sergeant of any army, making his men fear him more than any enemy, rewarding them with feasts, in this case of raw beef and medium-alcoholic mead. The only way he could maintain his following of individual-minded Amhara soldiers, each one of whom wanted to be a hero himself, was by continous personal bravery coupled with cleverness in military tactics. But here the similarity ends, for the non-noble chief of Amhara warriors had no pride of a non-commissioned officer; his ambition was to become a real "telleq säw", a minor nobleman owning "rest" lands.

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Personal bravery was expressed and recalled in formal boasting, a tradition that survives to this day even for such civilian occasions as weddings. Prior to battle each potential hero would go into a personal song and dance called "fukkara". The ceremonial dance accompanying his boast proceeded as follows: Spear, or rifle, held horizontally behind head, just above shoulders; the head moves in increasingly rapid motion from right to

782 726 521 535 left, while boasts are shouted rythmically. Personal boasts are interspersed with shouts of loyalty to the emperor ("Addis Ababa! Addis Ababa!"), or recalling past loyal bravery in the service of a provincial chieftain. Fukkara is performed also before the military games of "ganna" on Christmas, and outside the church on Epiphany (Temqat), to express the readiness of the young warriors to defend the faith, and on weddings to boast of warrior ancestors and so impress the in-laws.

[533] The song and dance is also referred to as "dan-kira " (stomping); to distinguish it from the tamer entertainment song, "afan" performed by female "azmari" who perform accompanied by a violin ("masenqo") or banjo ("qrar"), often recounting tales of renown in ballad form. The "fukkara" in military life takes place before the "joy tent" ("das") of the king, before the "denkwan" (from diwan, round cotton or hair tent) of feudal lords on the march; or, in honor of a successful "killer" ("gedday") of a lion, rhinoceros, elephant or human enemy, in presence of the trophy.

[727] The dance after the victorious battle is called "hoto". It is a simple jumping up and down, brandishing spear, rifle or stick vertically, reminiscent of the Central and West African dancing to exhaustion. It is accompanied by refrains, shouted frequently in response to impromptu poetry made up to celebrate the event, such as "yebahalal jebo" (the hyena will swallow him, i.e. the slain enemy). This refrain is also used before the battle, to defy the enemy and pretend that victory

is already assured. It is also performed on Epiphany, to defy human as well as spirit enemiesoof the Faith. Before battle, it was the response of the simple soldiers, ("watadar") to the pep-talk ("arraga") given them by the commander, encouraging them to stand their ground.

After thevictorious battle, the soldier could look forward to taking part in the royal feasting, the "gabber", and to lording it over the local "gabbar" peasant who had to supply the means and the womenfolk. It is at least part of the basis of the pride (critics say false sense of their own worth) of the free Amhara over subject peoples, enabling evan the simplest soldier to feel that he belongs to the proprietory class. Back home, he therefore despises manual labor, and even in going into battle he used to conscript peasant boys to carry his heavy rhinoceros-hide shield ("gasha"). These boys often became replacements for slain warriors when they could sedure weapons, and, in turn, recruited servants for themselves.

The typical weapon was the spear (the word "tor" means both war and spear) until replaced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by rifles, though late-medieval muskets and Ottoman firearms were available to a few from the Portuguese period in the 16th century. The spear, some in use as late as the Italian invasion of 1935/6, sometimes had two or three prongs. Sabers were rare, and available mostley to noble officers. They were of the curved, Damascene type. Daggers of

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A. The Structure of Church Organization.

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778 a) The Church buildings and design.

The traditional church building is round, designed on a pattern of three concentric circles. This combines the round pattern of the African hut, though much larger in this case, with the functional design of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. Like the latter, each church has a Holy of Holies ("qeddesta qeddusan"), a closed inner sanctum, which may be entered only by upper priesthood
[782] or the day's officiating priest. He carries burning and smoking incense in a metal or clay censer, while he marches around the sacred wooden tablet, the "tabot", located there. On the tabot, which may not be seen by layman's eyes, are inscribed, in Geez, the name of the saint to whom the particular (parish) church is dedicated, plus magical names of angels and geometric symbolism and phrases from both the Old and New Testament. The "tabot" represents symbolically the Ark of Moses kept by the ancient Israelites in the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem

346 The second circumference, the "mäqdäs", can be
[788] seen from the outside through several doorless openings. Here the priests perform the eucharist, hidden from the public gaze by portable white linen screens. The "maqdas" is restricted only during services.

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346 Within the third, walled-in circumference, the "taza", called also "gene mahlet" (lit. reciting-place of devotional poetry), the chorister-scribes ("däbtära") congregate while they chant devotional poetry and other

X 744 755 535 The specific personality and identity of the zar is revealed later during the course of the diagnosis, when the zar, using the body of the patient, dances the "fukkara" dance. This is considered the equivalent of the "boasting dance" of the Amhara warrior on the eve of battle, which goes by the same name. Thus the zar reveals his "fərəs sem" (war name; lit. horse name, i.e. knighthood name), much like an Amhara feudal knight. Since formal "boasting" is highly individualistic, this means that the zar has come out of hiding, like a warrior who emerges from ambush. The dance itself is just as individualistic and irregular, therefore called "dankira", and may include the brandishing of sticks (as if they were spears) or jumping up and down.

X 744 755 Once the patient has proceeded to such expressive behavior, the zar doctor claims that he "knows" the identity of the zar. The doctor now asks the zar a series of leading questions, and the patient usually does not fail to respond with the "truthful" answers. Finally the name of the zar is openly proclaimed. Certain zars are stubborn, hide their identity in various subterfuges, so that the battle of wits between the zar doctor and the zar is a lengthy and difficult one. But the former nearly always wins out and announces his diagnosis.

Thereupon the zar doctor proceeds to decide what course of treatment to follow. The zar is asked, through the mouth of the patient, what [782] offense has been committed against him; what he would like to receive as "ïäqwädäsha" love-gift in order to "pardon" the iniquity, or as damages for the "insult" or "neglect". Finally the zar is asked what he will demand in regular offerings in order to remain on good terms with the possessed, to plague her less and only at regular intervals, and, perhaps, to become her protective spirit. On the basis of the replies, the patient is

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

assessed membership fees in the zar congregation headed by that particular zar doctor. The patient thus becomes a devotee of the zar ("yäzar wəlaj").

Demands of the individual zars range from very simple to very complex. If he is a light-colored zar, he may demand the annual sacrifice of a light-colored goat; if dark, of a black goat. Frequently the demand includes personal attire for the possessed, such as certain trinkets, glass bead necklaces, metal hairpins, specific hairstyles - all of them attention-getters. The zar warns that he will come and check on the observance of these demands from time to time, and punish any shortcomings with severe suffering.

Sacrifices, "derka", in which a goat or a chicken is slaughtered, are at least partly consumed by the patient (through whom the zar consumes the donation). Sometimes several sacrifices have to be observed as part of one "mäqwädäsha", to appease weaker zar spirits that linger about the more powerful ones, awaiting a vulnerable moment in which to pounce upon the patient, unless pacified.

Some zars are vegetarian, require ablutions in vegetable water, in which mashed vegetables and chewed "chat" ("qat", a drugplant) have been mixed; others perversely like the bitter vermifuge plant kosso and insist that it be placed in the coffee consumed by the possessed patient; still others have made the lemon or the sycamore their symbol.

More zars are carniverous. One whose symbol (resembling a totem) is a lion, will demand the sacrifice of a tawny-colored goat, or demand that one of that color be kept in sight at all times so that he can "look" at it. For zars are very fond of using their sight. The wild animals of the bush are considered the "cattle" of the zar, and some

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

X 794 776 735 (actually directed at the patient), and "train" the minor zars to do their individual "gurri" somewhat differently, more "correctly". This "training" may include occasional beating of the "horse" of the zar (the patient).

Another advanced and complicated technique used by highly experienced zar doctors, in certain stubborn cases, is to transfer a stubborn zar from one patient of the zar congregation to a "stronger" member, so that the effect will be more controllable. This transfer is made on the principle of contagion. But a zar doctor is not supposed to inoculate a person with a really evil zar, for that would make him a sorcerer and set both the chief zar doctors and mankind in general against him.

Only in case of such a completely evil zar does the zar doctor attempt complete exorcism, considered a very dangerous form of spiritual surgery. During a somber ceremony, which lacks the gaiety of the usual [782] zar society, a black hen is killed, the evil zar is lured to feed on the body of the bloody animal, and the cadaver is quickly thrown in the bush, a thicket, or the river. This transfer is called "dangara", is tangential to the zar cult, and more related to "buda" and "tanqway" complexes (described later).

[787] Occasionally an old and experienced zar doctor, especially if a man, is asked to perform divination. If his personal zar happens to be "adept at prophecy", especially if he has been "educated at Jerusalem", the zar doctor may agree to put the question before him.

X 794 776 821 Seasonal variations are considered very important in treatment procedures, for the zar spirits are regarded to be as much dominated by the climate as are humans. They are dormant or inactive during the 3-month

from Aksum (just as Menelik I is regarded by the Coptic Abyssinians to have brought it to Aksum from Solomon's Holy of Holies at the temple in Jerusalem). But the tabot of the zars also symbolised the outdoor tree stump which serves the invisible zar spirits as a table. Thus, partaking of refreshments from the coffee trays constituted a kind of communion with the zar spirit to whom the tray was dedicated, although this was done only during intermissions of the cult services. On one tablet, the "araqi" supplied by the foreigner stood ready.

In the corners, more types of incense were burning than before. In addition to "etan" (frankincense), the domestic Ethiopian "bukbuka" was sending up clouds of perfumed smoke. Leaves of "wogart", believed pleasing to the zar that causes headaches and neuralgic pains, were occasionally placed on the clay incense burners. From time to time, some imported pebbles of yellow sulphur ("kabrē" or "din") sent up acrid smoke. But the sweet odor of most types of incense predominated most of the time.

About 8:30, the drummer brought his heavy drum down from beneath the solidly built roof, and began to drum slowly, rythmically, still subdued. The curtain was lowered, but the shadow of Lady Salamtew behind it could still be vaguely seen. Suddenly raucous grunts began to be heard from behind the curtain, emanating from Woyzaro Salamtew. This meant that her first major zar had arrived, and was beginning to descend into her, performing the magical coitus. Her joyshouts became louder, higher-pitched, turning to shrieks, quicker and quicker. She was beginning to perform the "gurri" victory dance of the zar who had conquered her.

Immediately the women devotees began to handclap rythmically, gradually quickening their tempo, in time to the twisting and turning

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She then proceeded to greet the individual zar doctors and devotees as if she had been absent a long time. Each rose and bowed deeply to her. Barley beer was now passed around freely, while coffee beans were being roasted and crushed, in preparation for the next intermission.

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Refreshed and heartened, the male zar doctor serving as poet now began to chant the hymns he had composed in honor of "aweliya" the chief male zar of Lady Salamtew. The rythm was as formal as the hymns chanted by the dabtara in the Coptic Abyssinian church, but contained Arabic loanwords borrowed from the traders' vernacular. The audience quickly learned the response and accompanied the responsive chant with rythmic handclapping:

Poet: "Salaam" (lit. "Peace", greeting; similar in Geez and Arabic languages).

Crowd: "Salaam Alēkum" (lit."Peace be with you", in Arabic).

Poet (continuing in Amharic): "Enter, warrior; enter warrior! "

Crowd: (repeats the same words).

Poet: "Lord Aweliya, what have I given to him (polite address) that he may be merciful to me?"

Crowd: (repeats same chant in more wailing pitch).

Poet: "Flower (synonym for youth), oh zar, flower!"

Crowd: (repeats)

Poet: He is Lord of Sera, Lord of Mora is he". (Polite address).

Crowd: (repeats).

Poet: "He, bridegroom Zar! Bridegroom Zar!"

Crowd: "Bridegroom Zar! Bridegroom Zar!"

Poet: "Like a lion, like a leopard, when he roars!"

Crowd: (repeats).

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Poet: "My witness (also can mean "faith"), Aweliya; my witness!"

Crowd: (repeats).

Poet: "May it be, to be healed, let me be!"

Crowd: (repeats)

Poet: "My prophet, my prophet, peace be with you".

Crowd: (repeats).

Now that Aweliya has been greeted and his protection invoked, individual "bala zar" (zar doctors as well as chronically possessed patient-devotees) can invite and lure their individual zars to take public "possession" of the devotee, who then dances the individual "gurri" victory dance of the particular zar. In luring the zar, they invite him with incense that he likes and with poetry composed by the zar doctor who serves as the poet of the convention.

It is now 9:30 P.M. Now that Aweliya, a Coptic zar is present, the poet invites Galla zar spirits from the Raya and Azabo territory of eastern Ethiopia:

Poet (chanting): "Aweliya, you are merciful, merciful you are;
my Lord, you are merciful".

Crowd: "Yehun" (lit. "May he be", polite address; this is a frequent refrain).

Poet: "If we believe in you, if we have faith, Aweliya, you will be merciful!"

Crowd: "Amen".

Poet: "Hear, oh prophet, we greet you; hear, oh prophet, we greet you!"

Crowd: "May you be" (greeted).

Poet: "The coffee has boiled,
the pilgrimage has been fulfilled;
hear, oh prophet, we greet you".

X 794 Crowd: "Amēn".
● 782 796 Poet: "Raya, Raya, we are calling;
Azābo, Azābo, we are calling!"
Crowd: "May you be".
Poet: "This will bring him to me;
now it will entice him!"
Crowd: "Amēn".
Poet: "Azābo ! Raya ! I am calling!"

X 794 781 796 When he stops there is an expectant hush. A woman zar doctor seated on a mat amid the crowd begins to sway backward and forward, still in a sitting position. All eyes turn to her, for this is the beginning of the "gurri" of her zar, and the spirit is beginning to move her. She begins to rise, still swaying. Her neighbors hold her lightly for a moment and remove her long necklaces which have metal objects attached that might hurt her or someone else in the spinning movements that are to follow. Now fully on her feet, the possessed begins to twirl, omitting hoarse shrieks. She spins faster and faster, like a top. Several times she slows a little, raises her arms rythmically, and contorts head, then chest, belly and hips, while her zar descends into magic coitus with her. Each time she spins again, to the ever faster tythm of the drum and the rythmic handclapping. The other women encourage her on to the orgiastic climax with shouts of "ahun" (now) and "yehun" (let it be). Her shrieks turn to long whines. After about 15 minutes of this "gurri", she falls in a heap, suddenly, exhausted, shouting "ahun" (now) herself with her last effort, then lies silent and motionless.

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The poet now lures the "pagan" zar Ganyu, whose home is in a bamboo forest in the Metemma lowland of the eastern escarpment of Ethiopia.

Poet: "Tall bamboo you (lit. he) will eat; bamboo you will devour;
Lord, named "Dämmäna" (lit. cloud), from where you devour bamboo;
Ganyu, Ganyu, Ganyu, pure honey (flattering synonym for healer) I
dance eyaho, eyaho dance, Oh Ganyu!"

Thereupon one of the women devotees who has shaved a tonsure in the center of her skull ("Ganyu" comes from "ganye", meaning tonsure), which is the visible requirement he makes of those whom he "possesses", begins to rise. The "gurri" she dances differs only in details from the one performed for the Galla zar spirits.

It is now 11:00 P.M. The various male zars expected on the program for the evening have now "descended". It is time for the female zars to begin making their descent, which is safe, now that many protective male zars are about.

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Word is whispered around that a male and a female zar who "will bite" are about to attack some of the possessed. Everyone rises and crowds close to the wall, leaving the hearth and the center of the room free. Only Lady Sälämtew seems unafraid. She calls out a warning to the foreigner, in her husky voice but in friendly tone, advising him to stand on the bench so as not to be bitten. "Ayzäw" (be well, be of good courage, be of good cheer) she calls out to the foreigner, using the polite address, and forgetting to use the familiar 2nd person singular feminine, which is her privilege.

This time the possession begins differently. Two women detach themselves from the frightened crowd almost simultaneously. Both

X 794 796 262 areqi, and also round, solid wheat discs (Citta")- the unleavened bread of travelers, expensive when made of wheat.

X 794 781 About midight, the convention proceeds, with the poet intoning the call for the female zar "Shasqit (see table for her characteristics):

● [782] Poet: "Dance, round and round, brave one;

Shanqit, we are calling; brave one".

Both men and women clap more fiercely than over, in quick rythm Suddenly the servant woman who had served the latest refreshments stiffens with a jerk, screams, and lets the tray slide from her hand. She is about to be possessed by the female zar of her class and occupation. This "gurri" is infantile in character. The young woman begins to skip about the room like a young goat or an overly gay little girl. She teasingly pokes at the men, again and again, until a few copper coins are given her. When this happens, she jumps high with glee. But a moment later she is back, pouting, demanding some sweets, asking for honey. Given some, she devours it, and dances a victory dance, flipping about on tiptoe. The drumbeat quickens. Finally she falls exhausted, her zar now in full possession of her.

X 794 796 688 There is another hush, awaiting further demonstrations. But there is an unscheduled interlude which reinforces discipline. The woman who had danced the "pagan" gurri had left shortly afterward, ostensibly for a call of nature, but had not returned until now, far too long an absence without permission. Seeing her enter, Lady Salamtew rises, shouting angrily, walkes toward her and beats her on the upper back with the heavy strap, several times, rather hard. The victim stands with bowed head, not stirring under the punishment, evidently

X 794 [798] tolerates it, as long as the residential location of the zar house is sufficiently beyond hearing distance of the church.

[562] Men are often ashamed to admit that they themselves are zar-possessed devotees. If possessed by a feminine zar, considered more stupid and ignorant than a male zar, in most cases, it is considered [782] possible to "outwit" her. A clever zar doctor may negotiate with a female zar to accept a consecrated hen, never to be slaughtered for her, merely to be looked at. The owner of the hen can then sell the eggs, and has a (totemically?) protected hen!

[787] More often, men consult zar doctors on business - though by stealth. In the town of Gondar, e.g., a man wishing to find a job for his nephew might present the problem to Lady Salamtew, who would listen quietly, accept his "frankincense money", and tell him to return on a certain day for her advice.

X 794 782 443 The economic significance of the zar cult varies, but can be considerable especially in the provincial towns. Most zar spirits, especially the powerful and clever ones, like "generosity" in sacrifices, are pleased by voluptuousness, insist on healthy animals for sacrifice, neat gifts and attire of their "horses" (a woman who is a clotheshorse would certainly be regarded as possessed), incense that has been imported from Yemen, aromatic herbs, imported perfumes, European utensils and alcoholic beverages (distilled arrak). Retail traders know this and encourage women to buy "nice things for the zar". It is well known that many women are "struck" by the spirit for the first time just after having visited ("window shopped" in the modern equivalent) a big market. No wonder zar doctors are popular with the Muslim Ethiopian retail traders, who not infrequently let them take some pancied item without payment, as a sort of silent commission

755 Serious cases sometimes evidence utter self-abasement, but this impresses the audience as a sign of a genuine, sincere case. Finally, the exorciser negotiates a date at which the buda will leave, usually not more than a week later. Unlike the zar, the buda is made to swear that he will not return.

The next step in treatment is to make certain that the buda will not return. Often the sacrifice of a black chicken is made. [78] the animal, still alive, is turned around the head of the victim, until the greedy buda enters the body of the chicken. Then the chicken is rapidly smashed to the ground. If it dies at once, it is a good omen that the buda has accepted the transfer, the substitute, and is leaving. Another good omen is the release of the exorciser is a dabtara, he says:

> "I command you, buda, in the name of the holy Trinity, the 12 apostles and the 318 bishops of the Council (of Nicea) to leave this person".

If the buda responds, he leaves with a flourish, such as showing his strength for the last time by causing his victim to pick up a huge rock, which would normally take several men to lift; then leaving the victim in a faint. To scare the buda further off, rifles may be discharged at this time. Often the patient is beaten severely, even wounded in the hip with a spear, "to let the buda escape"; this also makes things unpleasant and prevents a renewed attack.

When the victim recovers from his faint, he is asked his name, and gives his usual name. This is proof that he is "himself again". He claims to have no memory of what went on during the attack. As further proof of recovery the patient may be asked to pronounce

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
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346 very well closed; all appears to be vaulted. The church has a chancel and a transept, in the centre transept are curtains from end to end; and there are other curtains before the side doors, from wall to wall. They are curtains of silk: the entrance through these curtains is in three places, they are open in the middle, and they reach one to another, also they can be entered close to the walls. In the said three entrances there are little bells suspended to the curtains themselves, and nobody can enter by any part without these bells ringing. Here there is not more than one altar, which is in the chancel: this has a stand on four props, and the altar reaches to these four props. This stand is covered over above as though with a vault, and there is an altar stone which they call *tabuto*. Upon this altar stone there is a basin of copper, very large and flat below, and with low sides. This basin also reaches to the supports of the stand, which are disposed in a square. Within this large basin there is another smaller one. This stand has curtains hanging down from it to the ground, that is, at the back and sides, which screen the altar, except that in front it is open. One can go all round the altar. The bells are of
534 stone, and in this manner: long thin stones, suspended by cords passed through them, and they strike them with sticks made for the purpose, and they make a sound as of cracked bells heard at a distance. Also at festivals they take the basins from the altar and strike them with sticks, and they help to make a sound. They have also other iron bells, not round, but with two sides, they have a clapper which strikes first on one side and then on the other, and it makes a noise as of helving a mattock. They also have other small ill-made bells, which they carry in their hands at processions, and they ring the whole of them at the festivals. On other days the bells of stones and iron are
782 used. In all churches and monasteries they ring for matins
796 two hours before dawn. They say the prayers by heart and

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

They say the prayers by heart and
without light, except in the lamps or chandeliers, for they have not got lamps. They burn butter in these chandeliers, for they have not got oil. They pray or chaunt very loud, without art of singing, and they do not recite (alternate) verses, but all sing straight on. Their prayers are psalms, and on feast days besides psalms they recite prose, according as the feast is so is the prose. They always stand in the churches; at matins they only say one single lesson: this is said by a priest or a friar, rather shouted than intoned, and he reads this lesson before the principal entrance. When this lesson is finished, on Saturdays, Sundays, and feast days, they make a procession with four or five crosses on their poles, and a cross not so much raised as carried like a stick in the left hand, because they carry a thurible in the right hand, since as many as carry a cross carry a thurible, there are always as many thuribles as crosses. They wear some silk cloaks, not well made, because they are not wider than the width of a piece of damask, or other silk from top to bottom. Before the breast, a cross piece to the flanks on each side, of any other stuff and of any colour, even though it should not match the principal part, and of this principal part a good ell hangs behind dragging on the ground. They make this procession through the circuit, which is like a cloister. This being ended, on the said Saturdays, Sundays, and feasts, he who has to say mass enters with two others into the chancel; they bring out an effigy of Our Lady, which they have in ancient pictures in all churches and monasteries. He who has to say mass places himself in the centre of the transept with his face towards the principal entrance, and the image in his hands held before his breast: and those who stand by his sides hold lighted candles in their hands, and all the others commence a chaunt like prose, and all walk, shouting and leaping as if dancing[1], they hold hands and go round, before the

[1] *Como em chacota*, dancing and singing, *i.e.*, not reverentially.

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
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image,[1] and at the sound of that chaunt or prose which they sing, they also ring the little bells and sound the cymbals to the same tune. Each time that they pass before the image they make a great reverence to it. Certainly it has a good appearance and causes devotion, from being a thing done for the praise of the Lord God. There also proceed crosses and thuribles in this feast as in the procession. When this is ended, which lasts a good while, they put by the picture and go to a small building which is on the North side, and of the gospel according to our mass; and outside the covered circuit, where they make the bread which they call *corbon*, and we *hostia*. They carry cross, thurible, and bell, and bring thence the bread of wheat flour, and without leaven, made at that moment, very white and nice, of the size and roundness of a patena, in this monastery in which are few people. In other monasteries and churches, where there are many people, they make large loaves, and many of them according to the people, because all are communicants who go to the church. According to the width of the bread they make its thickness, from half a finger's breadth to an inch, or larger. They bring this loaf in a small vase, which is one of those of the altar, covered with a cloth, and with the cross and thurible, sounding a bell. Behind the church, that is, behind the chancel,[2] in that circuit which is like a cloister, nobody must remain unless he were in holy orders, and all the others must be before the principal entrance in another large circuit, which all the churches have; for near this, which is like a cloister, anybody who likes may stand. Whilst bringing the bread, as many as are in the church or in its circuit, when they hear the bell, bow their heads until the bell is silent, which is when they place the wafer on the altar with the small vase in which they brought

[1] *Como quem anda per mãos diante da imagem.* According to the Spanish translation of Miguel de Salves. Saragossa, 1561.

[2] *Ousia.*

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it. They place this vase in the other larger one, and cover the bread with a dark cloth, after the fashion of a *corporale*. They have a silver chalice in this monastery, and so in all honourable churches and monasteries there are silver chalices, some have them of gold: in poor churches, which they call churches of *Balgues*, that is, of rustics, there are copper chalices. The vases are very wide and ill made, and they have not got patenas. They put into the chalice wine of raisins, in large quantities, because as many as partake of the communion of the body also partake of the blood. He who has to say mass begins it with Hallelujah in a loud voice, rather shouted than sung; all respond and continue the chaunt. He of the mass is silent and continues his benedictions, which he does with his small cross, which he holds in his hand. Those who are outside sing as well as those who are inside the church and cloister, up to a certain distance. Here one of those who is at the altar, takes a book and goes to read the epistle at the principal door of the church. When it is ended, he who read it at once begins a chaunt as a response; those who are at the altar, or in the church, follow him. This ended, he who says the mass takes a book from the altar, and gives it to him who has to read the gospel, and he bows his head and begs a blessing. After he has received it he goes to the place where the epistle was read, and with him two others, one with a cross and thurible, the other with a bell. They read the gospel, and likewise the epistle, fast and loud, as much so as the tongue can speak and the voice be raised. Returning to the altar, on the way another chaunt commences, and those that accompany them join in it. On reaching the altar they give the book to kiss to him who says the mass, and they deposit the book in its place; because at the altar they say nothing from a book. Then he who says mass takes the thurible, or they give it into his hand, and he incenses the altar above it, and then takes

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796 782 several turns round it, giving incense. When these circuits and incensing are ended, he turns to the altar and gives many blessings with the cross, and then uncovers the bread which was covered up, and which is for the sacrament: they take it with both hands, and let go the right hand and it remains in the left hand: with the thumb of the right hand he makes five marks like little hollows, that is to say, one in the upper part, one in the middle, another at the lower part, another on the left, and another on the right hand, and then he consecrates in his language, and with our own very words, and does not elevate it. He does as much with the chalice, and says over it our own very words, in his language: and again covers it, and takes the sacrament of the bread in his hands and divides it in the middle, and of the part which remains in his left hand, from the top of it he takes a very small portion, and places the other pieces one upon another. The priest takes this small portion for himself, and also takes a portion of the sacrament of the blood. After that he takes the vase with the sacrament covered up and gives it to him who read the gospel, and likewise takes the chalice with the sacrament and gives it to him who read the epistle. He then administers the communion to the priests who are near the altar, taking the sacrament in very small portions from the vase which the deacon holds in his right hand, and as often as he administers it the sub-deacon takes of the blood with a spoon of gold, or silver, or copper, according to the church, and gives a very small quantity to the person who has received the body. There is also on one side another priest with a ewer of holy water, and the person who has received the communion puts out the palm of his hand and he pours some of that holy water, and with it he washes his mouth and swallows it. This being done all go to the altar with this sacrament before the first curtain, and in this manner they give the communion to those that are there, and thence to

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those who are at the other curtain, and thence to the secular people who are at the principal door, both men and women, if it is a church to which women come. At the giving of the communion, and likewise at all the offices of the church, all are standing up. When they come to receive the communion, all come with their hands raised before their shoulders, and the palms forward. As soon as each one receives the sacrament of the blood he takes the said water as has been said, and so generally as many as are communicants. Before mass they wash their hands with the water which is in all the churches and monasteries. The priest who said the mass, and those who stood with him at the altar, when the communion is ended, return to the altar, and wash the vase in which the sacrament was, with the water which remains in the ewer, which they say is blessed, this water they pour into the chalice, and the priest who said mass takes it all. This done, one of these ministers of the altar takes a cross and a bell, and beginning a low chaunt goes to the principal entrance, where the epistle and gospel were read, and the administering the communion ended, and as many as are in the church, and outside of it, bow their heads, and go away in peace. They say this is the blessing, without this no one goes away. On Saturdays and Sundays, and feast days, in all the churches and monasteries, blessed bread is distributed. The method which they have in this small monastery, which will not have more than 20 or 25 friars, is that which is followed in all the monasteries and churches, great and small. The office of the mass, exclusive of the processions, is short; and the mass on week days is quickly finished.

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CAP. XII.—*Where and how the bread of the Sacrament is made, and of a Procession they made, and of the pomp with which the mass is said, and of entering into the church.*

182 252 [346] The making of this sacramental bread is in this manner. The building in which it is made, in all churches and monasteries, is, as I said above, on the gospel side, outside of the church and its circuit, which is like a cloister, in the space contained by the other outer circuit, which is not covered in, which space serves for a churchyard. All the churches and monasteries have such a building, and it does not contain anything else except what is requisite for this purpose; that is to say, a mortar for pounding wheat, a machine for making very clean flour, and such as is required for such a purpose, for they do not prepare this sacrament from flour or wheat on which women have laid their hands. They have pots for preparing the paste, which they make thicker than ours. They have a furnace, as for distilling water, and upon it a plate of iron, and in some churches of copper, and in other poor churches of clay. This plate is round and of a good size; they place fire underneath it, and when it is hot clean it with a waxed cloth, pour on it a portion of paste, and spread it out with a wooden spoon of such size as they intend to make the bread, and they make it very round. When it is set they take it off and place it on end, then they make another in the same way. When this second one is set, they take the first and place it upon it, that is to say, the side of the first which was uppermost they put upon the top of the other, fresh with fresh, and so the bread remains one whole one, and they do nothing more than make it round and turn it from one side to the other, and move it about on the plate, that it may bake on both sides and on the circumference. In this manner they make one or as many as they wish. In this same [273] house are the raisins from which the wine is made, and a machine for pressing.

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house are the raisins from which the wine is made, and a machine for pressing. In this same house the blessed bread is made which is given away on Saturdays and Sundays and feast days; and on great feasts, such as Christmas, Easter, Our Lady of August, etc., they carry this bread of the sacrament with a pallium,[1] bell, and cross devoutly. Before they enter the church with it they go round the church by the circuit like a cloister; when it is not a feast they enter the church at once and without the pallium. On a Saturday before Ascension these friars made a procession; and from being in a new country it seemed to us very good, and they did it in this way. They took crosses, and the altar stone covered with a silk cloth, a friar carried it on his head, which was also covered with the said cloths; and they carried books and bells, and thuribles, and holy water; and all went chaunting to some millet fields: there they made their devotions and cries after the fashion of litanies, and with this procession they returned to the monastery. We asked why they did that, and they said that the animals ate their millet, and so they went to pour out holy water and pray God to drive them out. In this country he that says the mass has no other difference from the deacon and sub-deacon in his vestments than a long stole with an opening in the middle to allow the head to pass through; before and behind it reaches to the ground. The friars say mass with hair on their heads; the priests do not wear hair, and are shaven and so say mass. Also, both friars and priests say mass barefooted, nobody enters the church with his feet shod, and they allege for this what God said to Moses: "Take off thy shoes from off thy feet, for thou art on holy ground."

[1] Under a canopy.

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
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792 thuribles of copper. When mass was said, I saw a great gold chalice and gold spoon, with which they administered the communion. Of the three hundred friars who came to this monastery, very few were those that I knew as belonging to it: and I asked some of my friends how it was, that with so large a number of friars in the monastery as they said, they were not present at such a feast. They told me that even though there were more than they had said, that they were scattered about in these monasteries and churches, and markets, to seek for their living, because that could not be in the monastery whilst they were young men; and when they were old men, and could not walk, they came to die in the monastery. On that day I saw the habit put on seventeen young men. There is a tomb in this
778 monastery which they say is of an Abba or provincial of
776 this monastery who is named Philip, and they give him the merits of a Saint, saying that there was a King Prester John who commanded that Saturday should not be observed in his kingdoms and lordships, and this Abba Philip went to that King Prester with his friars, and undertook to show how God had commanded that Saturday should be kept, and that whoever did not keep it should die by stoning, and that he would maintain this before all the fathers of Ethiopia: and he made it good before the King. Therefore
796 they say that he was a Saint for making Saturday to be
782 kept, and they treat him as a Saint, and they hold a feast for him every year, in the month of July, which they call *Castar* Philip, which means funeral or memorial of Philip.[1] On this account the people of this monastery are the most Judaizing of all the kingdoms of Prester John. I came twice to this Castar of Philip, at which they did me much honour, and they kill many cows at this feast. In one year they killed thirty, and in another year twenty-eight, and in

[1] *Castar* should be *Teskar*; Mansfield Parkyns calls it a sort of funereal feast, where charities are bestowed on the poor and the priests.

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each of the years that I came there they gave me two quarters of the fattest cow that was killed. This flesh is distributed amongst the people who come to the Castar, and the friars have none because they do not eat meat. And these cows are all brought as offerings by their breeders in the district, who vow them to Philip. This monastery, and the others that are subject to it, have this rule in addition, that no females enter them, that is to say, neither women, nor she-mules, nor cows, nor hens, nor anything else that is female. And these cows which they kill are killed a long way from the wall, and when I came there they came to the distance of a cross-bow shot to take my mule, and they took her away to their farm of Jamgargara, where Mattheus died.

CAP. XV.—*Of the agriculture of this country, and how they preserve themselves from the wild beasts, and of the revenues of the monastery.*

The friars of this monastery, and of the other monasteries subject to it, might do good works by planting trees and vines, and making gardens and orchards for their exercise; and they do nothing. The country is ready to produce everything, as is seen from that which is uncultivated: they do not plant or grow anything except millet and bee-hives. When it is night, neither they nor anybody else go out from their houses from fear of the wild beasts that are in the country, and those who watch the millet have very high resting places upon the trees, in which they sleep at night. In the district of this monastery there are, in the valleys between the mountains, very large herds of cows, kept by Arab Moors, and there go with each herd forty or fifty Moors, with their wives and children: and their headman is

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and so receive absolution. They pray in the churches of the canons as in those of the friars. Friars do not marry, canons and priests do so. When the canons live together in the circuit they eat in their houses, and the friars eat in community. The chiefs of these churches are called Licacanate. The wives of the canons have houses outside of the circuit, where they go to live with them: the son of a canon remains a canon, and the son of a priest not, except he chooses later to become one. No tithes are paid to any church, they live on the large properties which the churches and monasteries possess. Complaints against the clergy are dealt with before the secular justice.

The vestment is made like a shirt, and the stole with a hole in the middle, and put over the head; they have no maniple, nor amice, nor girdle; priests and friars all have their heads shaved, and the beards not. The friars say mass with their hats on their heads, and the priests with their heads bare.

In no church is more than one mass said, and no mass is said for alms, not even for the dead. When any person dies, the priests come with cross and holy water and incense, and recite certain prayers for him, and carry him off to burial very hurriedly: next day they bring offerings: the churchyards are all closed, so that nothing can enter them.

Prester John has no determined place of abode, he always goes about the country in tents, and he will always have in his camp five or six tents among good and common ones: and there will always be at Court of people for the horses and mules from fifty thousand upwards.

The kitchen of Prester John is a good crossbow shot behind his quarters, and they bring his food in this manner: all that he has to eat comes in porringers and dishes of very black earthenware on wooden trays, and pages bring them, and above the pages come a pallium of silk, which covers them so that these viands come with reverence.

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

small division answering to the holy of holies. This is so narrow, that none but the priests can go into it. You are bare-footed whenever you enter the church; and, if bare-footed, you may go through every part of it, if you have any such curiosity, provided you are pure, i. e. have not been concerned with women for 24 hours before, or touched carrion, or dead bodies (a curious assemblage of ideas); for in that case you are not to go within the precincts, or outer circumference of the church, but stand and say your prayers at an awful distance among the cedars.

All persons of both sexes, under Jewish disqualifications, are obliged to observe this distance; and this is always a place belonging to the church, where, unless in Lent, you see the greatest part of the congregation; but this is left to your own conscience; and, if there was either great inconvenience in the one situation, or great satisfaction in the other, the cause would be otherwise.

When you go to the church, you put off your shoes before your first entering the outer precinct; but you must leave a servant there with them, or else they will be stolen, if good for any thing, by the priests and monks before you come out of the church. At entry you kiss the threshold, and two door-posts, go in and say what prayer you please; that finished, you come out again, and your duty is over. The churches are full of pictures, painted on parchment, and nailed upon the walls, in a manner little less slovenly than you see paltry prints in beggarly country ale-houses. There has been always a sort of painting known among the scribes, a daubing much inferior to the worst of our sign-painters. Sometimes, for a particular church, they get a number of pictures of saints, on skins of parchment, ready finished from Cairo, in a style very little superior to these performances of

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
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The Abyssinians receive the holy sacrament in both kinds, in unleavened bread, and in the grape bruised with the husk together as it grows, so that it is a kind of marmalade, and is given in a flat spoon. Whatever they may pretend, some mixture seems necessary to keep it from fermentation in the state that it is in, unless the dried cluster is fresh bruised just before it is used; for it is little more fluid than the common marmalade of confectioners; but it is perfectly the grape as it grew, bruised stones and skin together. Some means, however, have been used, as I suppose, to prevent fermentation, and make it keep; and though this is constantly denied, I have often thought I tasted with a flavour that was not natural to the grape itself.

It is a mistake that there is no wine in Abyssinia; for a quantity of excellent strong wine is made at Dreeda, south-west from Gondar about thirty miles, which would more than supply the quantity necessary for the celebration of the eucharist in all Abyssinia twenty times over. The people themselves are not fond of wine, and plant the vine in one place only; and in this they have been imitated by the Egyptians, their colony; but a small black grape, of an excellent flavour, grows plentifully wild in every wood in Tigre.

Large pieces of bread are given to the communicants, in proportion to their quality; and I have seen great men, who, though they open their mouths as wide as conveniently a man can do, yet from the respect the priest bore him, such a portion of the loaf was put into his mouth, that water ran from his eyes, from the incapacity of chewing it; which, however, he does as indecently, and with full as much noise, as he eats at table.

After receiving the sacrament of the eucharist in

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
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782 796 both kinds, a pitcher of water is brought, of which the communicant drinks a large draught; and well he needs it to wash down the quantity of bread he has just swallowed. He then retires from the steps of the inner division, upon which the administering priest stands, and, turning his face to the wall of the church, in private, says some prayer with seeming decency and attention.

The Romanists doubt of the validity of the Abyssinian consecration of the elements; because in their liturgy it is plainly said, "Lord, put thy hand upon this cup, and bless it, and sanctify it, and purify it, that in it may be made thy holy blood;" and of the bread they say, "Bless this saucer, or plate, that in it may be made thy holy body." And in their prayer they say, "Change this bread, that it may be made thy pure body which is joined with this cup of thy precious blood." The Jesuits doubt of the validity of this consecration, because it is said, "this *bread* is my body;" and over the wine, "this *cup* is my blood;" whereas, to operate a true transubstantiation, they should say over the bread, "this is my body."

For my own part, I leave it to the reverend fathers, who are the best judges, what is necessary to operate this miracle of transubstantiation. The reality of the thing itself is denied by all Protestant churches, has been often doubted by others, has been ridiculed by lay-writers, and can never be a matter, I believe, of thorough conviction, much less of proof, to any. The dignity of the subject, on which it touches nearly, as well as tenderness for our brethren on the continent, an article of whose faith it is, should always screen it from being treated with pleasantry, whatever we believe, or whether we believe it or not.

M. Ludolf thinks, that the words I have set down are a proof the Abyssinians do not believe in transub-

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
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stantiation. For my part, from those very words, I cannot think any thing is clearer than that they do; the bread is upon the plate; they pray that the plate may be blessed, "That in it the bread may be made God's holy body*;" and of the wine they say, "That it may be made thy holy blood:" and in their prayer they say, "Change this bread, that it may be made thy body;" and again, "May the Holy Ghost shine upon this bread, that it may be made the body of Christ our God, and that this cup may be changed and become the blood, not the *symbol*, of the blood of Christ our God." With all respect to Mr Ludolf's opinion, I must think that, though the benediction prayed upon the patine, spoon, and chalice, is but an aukward expression, yet, if I understand the language, *converte* and *immutetur* are literal translations of the Ethiopic, and seem to pray for a transubstantiation as directly as words will admit, whether they believe in it or not; nor, as far as I know, can any stronger or more expressive be found to substitute in their place.

I shall finish this subject (which is not in my province, and which I have mentioned, because I know it is a matter which some of my readers desire information upon) by an anecdote that happened a few months before my coming into Abyssinia, as it was accidentally told me by the priest of Adowa the very day of the Epiphany, and which Janni vouched to be true, and to have seen.

The Sunday before Ras Michael's departure for Gondar from Adowa, he went to church in great pomp, and there received the sacrament. There happened to be such a crowd to see him, that the wine, part of the consecrated elements, was thrown down

* See the Ethiopic liturgies passim. Ludolf, lib. iii. cap. 5.

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
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and spilt upon the steps whereon the communicants stood at receiving. Some straw or hay was instantly gathered and sprinkled upon it to cover it, and the communicants continued the service till the end, treading that grass under foot.

This giving great offence to Janni, and some few priests that lived with him, it was told Michael, who, without explaining himself, said only, "As to the fact of throwing the hay, they are a parcel of hogs, and know no better." These few words had stuck in the stomach of the priest of Adowa, who, with great secrecy, and as a mark of friendship, begged I would give him my opinion what he should have done, or rather, what would have been done in my country? I told him, "That the answer to his question depended upon two things, which, being known, his difficulties would very easily be solved. If you do believe that the wine spilt by the mob upon the steps, and trod under foot afterwards, was really the blood of Jesus Christ, then you was guilty of a most horrid crime, and you should cry upon the mountains to cover you, and ages of atonement are not sufficient to expiate it. You should, in the mean time, have railed the place round with iron, or built it round with stone, that no foot, or any thing else but the dew of heaven, could have fallen upon it, or you should have brought in the river upon the place that would have washed it all to the sea, and covered it ever after from sacrilegious profanation. But if, on the contrary, you believe (as many Christian churches do), that the wine (notwithstanding consecration) remained in the cup nothing more than wine, but was only the symbol, or type, of Christ's blood of the New Testament, then the spilling it upon the steps, and the treading upon it afterwards, having been merely accidental, and out of your power to prevent, being so far from your wish

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that you are heartily sorry that it happened, I do not reckon that you are further liable in the crime of sacrilege, than if the wine had not been consecrated at all. You are to humble yourself, and sincerely regret that so irreverent an accident happened in your hands, and in your time; but as you did not intend it, and could not prevent it, the consequence of an accident, where inattention is exceedingly culpable, will be imputed to you, and nothing further."

The priest declared to me, with great earnestness, that he never did believe that the elements in the eucharist were converted by consecration into the real body and blood of Christ. He said, however, that he believed this to be the Roman Catholic faith, but it never was his; and that he conceived the bread was bread, and the wine was wine, even after consecration. From this example, which occurred merely accidentally, and was not the fruit of interrogation or curiosity, it appears to me, whatever the Jesuits say, some at least among the Abyssinians do not believe the real presence in the eucharist; but further I am not enough informed to give a positive opinion. To follow this investigation more curiously would have been attended with a considerable degree of danger; and therefore I have stated my only means of knowledge, and leave my readers entirely to the freedom of their own opinion, and to after inquiry and information.

The Abyssinians are not all agreed about the state of souls before the resurrection of the body. The opinion which generally prevails is, that there is no third state: but that, after the example of the thief, the souls of good men enjoy the beatific vision immediately upon the separation from the body. But I must here observe, that their practice and books do both contradict this; for, as often as any person dies, alms are given, and prayers are offered for the souls

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

622 rounding a local church, and therefore "parish" may be the more appropriate
621 term for it than village. The *chīqā shum* and the local church authorities
794 work closely on occasion, particularly in connection with the construction and maintenance of church buildings.

*565 The church represents the third main link between the peasant hamlet and
79 the broader Abyssinian life. As the peasant depends on the local market to
182 mediate between his production unit and the external economy, and on the *chīqā shum* to mediate between his domestic polity and the higher political authorities, so he depends on the local clergy to mediate between his home culture and the "high culture" of Abyssinia as embodied in the institutions of the Orthodox Church.

The peasant supports the church by following its main ritual requirements and by contributing, according to his means, a certain quantity of grain each year. If the peasant works land owned by the church, a considerable part of his produce is transmitted automatically to individual priests, or gifts are offered to the church according to the occasion. In return, the church symbolizes for him the integrity of his moral order and provides moral support during personal crisis.

*565 Such, in broad outline, is the structural setting of peasant life among the Amhara.

THE WORLD OF ACTIVITY

*565 512 *The Daily Round*

[462] [252] Work begins in the peasant's home well before daybreak. His wife or maidservant rises with the first cockcrow to grind grain. It is pitch dark as she feels her way across the earthen floor and begins to push and pull a large flat stone over little heaps of barley, wheat, or *tēff*.

An hour or two later cold light seeps in through cracks in the door and, if it is in bad repair, the thatched roof. The noises of chickens and livestock become more audible, and the rest of the household begins to stir. The man [782] of the house starts his day by reciting a prayer or, if he has some education, by reading a passage from some sacred text. Then he or one of the boys takes [231] [462] the oxen and cows out for breakfast, to a pile of hay in the yard or a spot of pasture rich with grass. Donkeys, mules, and perhaps horses are also sent to graze.

[372] One of the women pokes the embers that spent the night under a blanket of ash. She blows them into flame through a bamboo pipe, filling the room with smoke and her eyes with tears. Over the fire she sets a clay pot to warm [262] up leftover pepper sauce. The peasant sits on a sheepskin spread over the clay [252] bench that adjoins the wall. Water is poured from a gourd for him to wash [352] his hands, and *ĭnjarā* and sauce are brought for his breakfast. He eats by him- [515] self, slowly, pondering the work for the day.
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11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

the morning and what remains to be done. The peasant may retire for a nap, and perhaps to lie with his wife, before taking up the afternoon's work. He returns for about three more hours of plowing after his noon rest. The afternoon sun burns down on him; the plow is harder to wield; he plods on. At home the women continue their work, no sooner finishing one task than they attend to another. The mother puts the child who rides on her back to the breast whenever it cries.

The shepherds do not come home for lunch. They have taken some *ïnjarä* or *dābo* ("whole wheat bread") along with them. In harvest months they enjoy a special treat, roasting grains or pulse which they have snatched from somebody's field. Though their responsibility is great—a boy will be whipped if an animal in his charge gets hurt or lost or if it gets into fields of grain—their work is light. They spend the day running idly, practicing war chants, playing at various adult activities. Their mood is as free as the great spaces about them. As the day grows hotter they are likely to discard their sheepskin covering and move about naked. Toward dusk, the shepherds' spirits quicken. Their songs become more excited; lively melodies are heard from their wooden flutes. It is time to go home to family, supper, and fire.

When father and sons enter after the day's work, they start munching on roasted grains, *ïnjarä*, or *dābo*. They may drink some *tallä* and relax. It begins to get chilly. The room is dark and smoky, the fleas bite them—but it is the easiest time of the day. The family is together, and everyone enjoys talking and hearing about the homely events of the day. A few hours after dark, supper is served. Parents and older children eat together out of a common basket. Younger children and servants stand respectfully, awaiting their turn, grateful if someone places a large bite of food in their mouths.

After dinner there is a great washing of feet—the father's by his wife or children, the others' by themselves. The peasant recites or reads his evening prayers and lies down on his bed made of strips of cowhide. The children settle for the night on the clay benches. Last of all, the mother covers the embers with ashes, sets out the grain she must grind before dawn, and places her weary body next to that of her husband's.

This grueling schedule is not repeated every day. On nearly half the days in each month heavy labor is not permitted—men may not plow or harvest, women may not grind or spin. These are holy days: Saturdays and Sundays (both of which are honored as the Sabbath in Abyssinia) and the monthly and annual commemorations of the saints.

The woman's schedule on such days is only lightened, not radically altered. Food and drink must still be prepared and served. Except for a possible trip to church with her husband Sunday morning before breakfast, a woman's hours are still confined to the home compound and its obligations. The shepherds must still take care of their herds, though some boys may get together for

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

in January. But the giant of holidays in this season is Epiphany, about a fortnight after Christmas. The holiday commemorates the baptism of Jesus; the name of the holiday, *Ṭimqat*, means "baptism." In preparation for Ṭimqat new clothes are given to children and the adults' *shammā*, grown very gray over the months, are washed in every household.

The program for Ṭimqat is long and complicated. At sunset on the eve of the holiday, the people don their white clothes and repair to the local church, from whence they escort the *tābot* to a place where it will spend the night—near some stream or pool. They go home for supper, and return to that site for singing and dancing until late at night. About two o'clock in the morning Mass is performed, after which quantities of *dābo* and *ṭallā* are consumed. Toward dawn, or shortly after, the clergy bless the water and sprinkle it on those assembled. Many like to bathe in the sanctified water at this time. It is the occasion for baptizing the children of syphilitic mothers and those who want to be rebaptized.

By noon on Ṭimqat Day a large crowd has assembled at the ritual site, those who went home for a little sleep having returned, and the holy ark is escorted back to its church in colorful procession. The clergy, bearing robes and umbrellas of many hues, perform rollicking dances and songs; the elders march solemnly with their weapons, attended by middle-aged men singing a long-drawn, low-pitched *haaa hooo;* and the children run about with sticks and games. Dressed up in their finest, the women chatter excitedly on their one real day of freedom in the year. The young braves leap up and down in spirited dances, tirelessly repeating rhythmic songs. When the holy ark has been safely restored to its dwelling-place, everyone goes home for feasting. In the meantime, the eyes of gamesome men and women have met and secret rendezvous have been arranged.

Ṭimqat ushers in a season of weddings, which comes to an abrupt end with the onset of the great fast before Easter. For eight long weeks, body and spirit are depressed by the heavy fasting requirements. The mood reaches a climax in the final week of Lent. Then no heavy work is allowed, and the more devout peasants go to church many times and intensify their daily schedule of prayers. Total abstinence is practiced for the forty-eight hours preceding the final Mass, performed in the middle of the night before Easter.

Gluttony follows this long deprivation. It is a season of the highest spirits. For eight weeks the inexorable requirement to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays is waived. The bins are full with the harvest of wheat, barley, and chick-peas. New crops of pulse start to appear in the fields. It is the most favored time of all for weddings.

And then, as the Amhara themselves view it, June brings another time of sadness. With the onset of the heavy rains come attacks of malaria in the lowlands, typhus in the highlands. Swollen streams make travel difficult and

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drastic changes on the familiar natural order. Insofar as there is a special affect regarding nature, it takes the form of a sentimentalization of the useful—as in the great respect felt for young cattle, the thrill aroused by the sight of newly sprouted grain, and the deep nostalgia about one's land.

565* 82

The Supernatural

565* 776 [793] [779]

The peasant's conception of God is closer to that of the learned clergy than is his cosmology, since the Abyssinian clergy have tended to avoid systematic theology, believing that to probe too deeply into the nature of God verges on blasphemy. Abyssinians view God above all as *mystery*.

Nevertheless, they do have a sense of the various attributes of their God. God is the creator of the world. He is, as the name *Egziābhēr* signifies, Lord of the earth; and He is Lord of the seas, Lord of the King of Kings, and Lord of the angels. He is eternal and possesses knowledge without limit.

The Amhara peasant has a keen awareness that wherever one goes, God is there. "If you say no one is looking," goes an Amharic saying, "still God will see you." This consciousness of God's presence is reflected in the habit of referring to God scores of times every day. A number of common expressions contain references to God:

For greeting and farewell	"May He give you health for me."
For showing gratitude	"May God give you for me."
For responding to queries about one's health	"God be praised!"
For thanksgiving after meals	"Be praised, my Lord!"
For swearing by a statement that has been challenged	"By God! By the Savior!"

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Prayers to God are spoken on numerous occasions. God's blessing is sought when an animal is slaughtered, when a group of people sits to eat, when a new house is begun, and when it is completed. Each day begins with a prayer something like this: "May He cause me to spend the day in peace. May He keep trouble from me. May He pardon my sins." When the peasant begins planting, he also prays: "God bless the seed; feed me, keeping birds away from it; bless it for the mouth of man."

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It is probably the attribute of God's omnipotence, however, that appears most vivid to the Amhara mind. Everything that happens reflects His active will. The thunder expresses His anger, a flood the visitation of His wrath upon the sinful. He is ever active, bringing births and deaths, prosperity and hunger, leading one traveler to safety and another to disaster. He controls the homeliest details of everyday life. One boy, troubled that he was not selling his goods in the market, confessed that God must be angry with him about something. Another, asked what he wanted to do the following year, replied:

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"If God wants me to, I may go to school; but it is hard to know what God will want."

As a corollary of this outlook, the main way for man to achieve anything on earth is to pray to the Almighty. If one prays properly, God's power can be invoked to punish one's foes. In former times at least, the peasant went to church and prayed for vengeance, then expected his enemy to fall sick or die. If he could not pray effectively himself, he would give money to a priest and the latter would do the job for him. It is commonly believed by the Amhara peasantry today that their praying and fasting were a major factor in ridding the country of the Italian invaders.

This conception of deity is at heart that of the early Old Testament, a powerful Lord who punishes, rewards, and avenges. But it is suffused with the pagan feeling for a plurality of deities. The Amhara is constantly aware of a number of supernatural beings other than *Egziābhēr* who affect his life for better or for worse.

Some of these are the simple agents of God in everyday affairs. Each individual receives at birth a pair of guardian angels of his own sex, one for daytime and one for night. They serve to protect him from accidents, sickness, and enemies. When some misfortune befalls a person, it is because God has ordered his guardian angels to neglect their duties.

More important are the many supernatural beings with wills of their own. Among the benevolent spirits the main figures are:

Miḳā'ēl	The archangel Michael
Gabre'ēl	The archangel Gabriel
Giyorgis	St. George
Madhānē Alam	Savior of the World
Selassie	Trinity
Māryām	St. Mary
Abbo	Gabra Manfas Qeddus, an Abyssinian saint
Takla Hāymānot	Another Abyssinian saint

Most Amhara are particularly devoted to some one of these sacred figures. Partiality to one or another may be due to the fact that it is the patron saint of one's father, or represented in one's Christian name, or commemorated by the church in one's area. In time of sickness, a man will drink holy water from the church of a certain saint, and make a vow, for example, "If Giyorgis cures me, I will give money to the church in his name, I will kill a lamb for him, and I will drink in a Giyorgis *māhebar* ("religious fraternal association") every month thereafter."

These sacred figures are represented by numerous holy arks, or *tābot*. A *tābot* is a hollow oblong box containing some sacred script. It is identified

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with the saint for whom it has been named, and personalized. The extent to which the ark is regarded as human is shown by the following remark of a peasant who looked at the picture of a church on a TAT card and explained: "When the ark has been given incense, it will be happy. . . . If this church is given a new roof, the ark will be very happy and give *ĭnjarā* to the people."

The saints and the *tābot* which represent them are the objects of much veneration and prayer. They figure so prominently in the Amhara's outlook that at times they appear to be on a par with *Egziābhēr* himself. Two differences may be noted, however. The saints do not take the initiative in interfering in human affairs, as does *Egziābhēr*, but intervene only when appealed to. Their function, moreover, is that of protecting and healing spirits; it is not their portion to administer the punishments which *Egziābhēr* inflicts on those who disobey the religious laws, though they may mete out punishment to someone who breaks a vow he has made to them.

Malevolent spirits, on the other hand, do intervene in human affairs without being invited. Of the evil spirits, the devil—known as *Diabolos*, *Sayṭān*, or *Agannent*, which are names of different spirits to the learned but counted the same in the peasant's mind—is the most powerful. He is imagined as a dark, Negroid type, the least favored sort of racial stock in Ethiopia. He dwells in deep waters, woods, and caves, and likes to roam about at noon and at midnight, especially near dirty places. Amhara avoid going near a lake or pool known to harbor the devil, for fear of being pulled in and drowned. They likewise stay away from dirty places at noon, for fear that he will make them sick. The devil brings epileptic fits. He tries to push people into fire. He also tries to harm human beings by tempting them to some misdeed—stealing, murder, getting drunk—and then have them suffer the consequences. Finally, when the human soul appears for judgment after death, he strives to gain possession of the soul and put it into the fire. Sometimes he is pictured as chewing the souls he manages to obtain.

Despite his inimical gestures toward the human race, the devil is respected as well as feared, for he has much power. Many peasants pray to him for this reason. In time of sickness some choose *Sayṭān*, rather than (or in addition to] *Giyorgis* or *Māryām*, as the one to whom they pray and make promises. On New Year's Day, Christmas, and Easter, prayers to *Sayṭān* are surreptitiously repeated in many quarters. One of these prayers runs: "My lord, bring me through the year. Guard me. If you keep me this year in peace and bring me through the year, I will give you more." Certain individuals are on especially good terms with the devil. They pray to him often, and he visits them from time to time and does favors for them; they are his "friends." When such a person dies, his son often continues the relationship.

Another kind of spirit producing ill effects is the *zār*. *Zār* spirits are of

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853 155 152 covers the Amhara home.* The latter is related to customs concerning adoption.

881 597 853 155 152 The adoption of children among traditional Amhara takes place through a ritual in which the child sucks the honey-dipped thumb of his intended foster parent. The latter thereby becomes the child's *ṭuṭ abbāt*, or breast-father. In some cases the child actually sucks the nipples of the *ṭuṭ abbāt*. Used metaphorically, the image of sucking someone's breast is employed to indicate becoming close to, or ingratiating oneself with, a superior; breast-feeding is so explicitly connected with emotional security that people are inclined to allude to it when finding a new source of security.

157 155 [855] The Amhara's attachment to passive, pleasurable activities centering on the oral zone appears in a wide variety of forms. Manipulation of the lips is one of these. Amhara often stand about fingering their lips or rubbing them against some object, much as people in another culture might scratch their heads or stroke their chins. Children may be humored by having their lips played with by a relative. The frequent covering and uncovering of the mouth with a part of the toga, that is so characteristic of the Amhara, may be a sublimated form of this.

155 201 [832] 576 155 [431] The lips are used in Amhara culture for a variety of expressive purposes. The Amhara identify persons and places, not by pointing with the finger or hand, but by distending the lips in a certain direction. Kissing, while seldom used for romantic purposes, serves a number of other expressive functions. Relatives or friends of either sex kiss each other on both cheeks after a long separation, the older or superior in status kissing first. Children and servants greet their superiors by kissing their feet, which they also do to show gratitude for some favor. One kisses one's own hands before extending them to receive a gift. Kissing one's fingers is done to signify an oath or a special appreciation of something, the meaning being "I swear by it."

782 155 Religious sentiment is typically expressed through kissing. The devout Amhara kisses his fingers and touches the table to show thanksgiving after a meal. The church is greeted by kissing a part of the building, and going to church is referred to as "kissing the church." Following devotional services the priest's cross is kissed by all present, and often the Holy Book is kissed as well. When the ark is brought outside on holidays, reverence is shown by falling to the ground and kissing the earth.

155 538 832 While, moreover, romantic kissing is an uncommon activity among the Amhara, Amharic literature at times represents this activity with poignant intensity. Thus, in an unwritten Amharic couplet one hears:

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[184] *The Gurage, by contrast, place a straight stick atop their homes. So do the Amhara of Gojjam Province.

753 776 Malign agencies, both corporeal and incorporeal, are in abundance, however. Of these, the zar and ganel spirits are regarded with the greatest interest and concern. On the one hand, zars and ganels cause a great variety of ailments, often mortal ones. On the other hand, they are intelligible beings, each organized into socially structured communities of confreres and, most important to humans, they are willing to communicate information of therapeutic significance.

753 787 776 562 Zars select their victims carefully, most often choosing girls and women. Typically, this choice is signalled by the onset of chronic stomach pain, persisting headache, and arthritic complaints, although powerful zars are capable of sending any ailment. Once selected by a zar, a host can expect the subsequent attentions of other zars. Periodically, each of these will dramatize his domination over the human partner by sickening him and demanding tribute in the form of clothes, jewelry, and specially prepared food. Zars are visible only during the dreams of their human partners; in addition, they frequently speak through their hosts. From these sources, it is known that the zars have human forms and live in a bisexual and culturally pluralistic society which duplicates that of traditional Abyssinia. The means by which zars cause sickness is not known to humans, however.

753 776 782 [192] Measles (ankalis) and smallpox (watetey) are attributed to eponymous spirits who are customarily pro-

* 753 776 • 782 * [755] * [192] pitiated with zar-favored foodstuffs. Because of this, they are loosely associated with the zars. Unlike the latter, however, they are vague phantoms with whom no communication is possible; their demands are known from convention and, once satiated, leave the sickman permanently.

776 779 Zars contrast with ganels in several significant respects. The zar lives in a world which parallels but is distinct from man's own; it is a world whose existence, together with that of the zars themselves, is denied by * [192] the Coptic Church. The ganel's existence is entirely earth-bound, and he is identified by the Church as the Abyssinian satan (seytan). Whereas it is the zar which initiates ties with his human host, the ganel is forced into such relationships by his human partner. The zar's host may be anyone, the ganel's partner is always a male ecclesiastic who possesses a store of esoteric knowledge.

* 753 776 [539] * [192] The ganel's appearance is known from scriptural references and, in addition, they are infrequently seen. When visible, the ganel appears as a tall and thin blackman, Nilotic except for certain details. Descriptions by laymen are generally hearsay, since madness (ibidet) strikes the unprotected human who looks on a ganel; if the glance is returned, the effects are mortal. So dangerous is the ganel's person that even contact with his shadow leaves the victim stammering and given over to

woven by a virgin or a post-menopausal woman, are frequently relevant questions. Before giving the kitab to his client, the debtera may find it useful to recite a digam over it, perhaps accompanying this recitation with some activity, such as walking a designated numberof circuits around a church. Finally, the knowledgeable debtera can prescribe the part of the client's body where the kitab will work most effectively, on the arm, around the neck, at the groin or arm pit, whether right side or left.

Although laymen recite prayers which are analogous to the debtera's digams, they are exclusively verbal and without asmat. Amhara customarily pray on retiring and waking; there are also occasional prayers after meals. Prayers at home are always performed by individuals, and are directed to the Almighty, Jesus, Mary, and the saints of the Church. Prayers to the Almighty either thank Him for fulfilling requests made in previous prayers, or ask for special favors. The layman asks for protection from imminent danger and unknown enemies, for injury to those hostile to him, for wealth (especially land), good fortune, and long life; his most frequent request, however, is that his good health and that of other members of his household be maintained or restored. Prayers to saints are usually to Kidus Makael, Kidus Yowhanis, Kidus Gebre Menfis, and, particularly, the eponymous saint of the

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

782 supplicant's parish. Prayers to the saints ask intervention with the Almighty on the supplicant's behalf, and thank the saints for fulfilling previous requests. Although prayers are not formalized, a specific request often takes the form of a three-fold appeal during a single session, first addressing the appropriate saint, then Jesus, and finally the Almighty.

ACQUIRING ABINET

*787 *793 869 A boy rarely begins his debtera career with the conscious intention of learning abinet. His first studies are acquired almost inadvertently, and subsequent abinet are obtained only gradually. Yet, the types of abinet which he eventually acquires are never adventitiously determined. As he collects abinet throughout his professional career, the debtera is continually guided by the ways in which he perceives and weighs his instrumental and moral interests in these studies, and by the degree to which he is constrained by the character of his professional capital. Instrumentally, a distinction is made between abinet which directly satisfy some immediate personal needs of the debtera, and those works which enable the debtera to provide a service for others without transmitting technical knowledge of the abinet at the same time. Morally, abinet are

*787 539 stars his destiny is linked.[29] For this, the debtera must know the subject's automyn, the year (zemene) and month of his birth, and whether he was born during the day or night; division is by twelve. Here, the text indicates both the name of the subject's star, and a variety of information relevant to all people who are bound to *[758] this star. Among this information, the following medical data figure prominently: 1) Prophylactic and diagnostic notations specifying the ailments and pathogenic *[755] agents which threaten the subject; 2) prophylactic notations regarding the manufacture of the kitab, its appropriate digam (indicated by generic title), and the construction of an effective telsem most appropriate to the • [782] subject; 3) therapeutic notations regarding pharmacology *[218] and the choice of suitable sacrifices (indicated in terms of color, combination of colors, animals, combinations of animals, substitute animals).

The text further stimulates and focuses prophylactic interests, by indicating the following concomitants of illnesses which threaten for the future: 1) The days,

[29] Stars one, five and nine are identified by name with fire; two, six, and ten with earth; three, seven and [193] eleven with air; four, eight and twelve with water. Debteras trace the origins of awdunigist variously to the court of Solomon and to certain monasteries of medieval Ethiopia.

*756 *787 *793 ganel out of doors, by the side of the lake or river in which he lives. When clients attend, however, the ganel is pulled in the debtera's room, since preparations for controlling the demon are easier to arrange, and a tedi- [833] ous journey is avoided. The ganel puller is often required to observe a period of chastity prior to contacting the ganel, and if the ganel is called into a room, it must be a place where sexual relations are never had.

A ganel-calling session begins with the recitation of texts, composed mainly or exclusively of asmat words. Unlike abinet recitations in other contexts, the debtera's text is repeated until the desired effect is ob- [782] tained (i.e., the ganel has been pulled). In addition to the recitation, an animal (most commonly a chicken) favored by the ganel is sacrificed. A debtera's initial attempt to pull a ganel often requires recitations over a week or more, until success is obtained. Once the ganel has been called successfully, subsequent sessions take less time. An experienced debtera can call a ganel familiar in less than an hour, although even he must expect lengthy recitations when attempting to reach a ganel with whom he has not yet conversed.

The debtera perceives these activities as a mixture of compulsion (through asmat) and blandishments (by the sacrifice), that oblige the ganel to assume a cooperative attitude. Once a ganel has responded positively to a